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THE RESOLVING OF CONSCIENCE,

upon this Queſtion,

Whether upon ſuch a Suppoſition or Caſe, as is now uſually made (The King will not diſcharge his truſt, but is bent or ſeduced to ſubvert Religion, Laws, and Liberties) Subjects may take Arms and reſiſt? and Whether that Caſe be now?

RESOLVED,

I. *That no Conſcience upon ſuch a Suppoſition or Caſe can finde a ſafe and clear ground for ſuch reſiſtance.*

II. *That no man in Conſcience can be truly perſwaded, that the reſiſtance now made is ſuch, as they themſelves pretend to, that plead for it in ſuch a caſe.*

III. *That no man in Conſcience can be truly perſwaded that ſuch a caſe is now*, that is, *that the King will not diſcharge his truſt but is bent to ſubvert*, &c.

Whence it followeth,

That the reſiſtance now made againſt the higher Power is unwarrantable, and according to the Apoſtle Damnable, *Rom.* 13. Alſo that the ſhedding of bloud in the purſuit of this reſiſtance is Murder.

By H. FERN D. D. *&c.*

Wo unto them, that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkneſſe for light, and light for darkneſſe, Iſa. 5. 20.
O my ſoul come not thou into their ſecret. Gen. 49. 6.

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To all Misse-led People in this Land.

HE that in these times will speak any thing to the people in behalf of the King, is likely to do it upon disadvantage, and be heard with prejudice: but they that would be profitably informed by what they heare, must lend an equall eare to what is spoken; which I hope you will do, being such, for the most part, as professe to make a conscience of your wayes. I desire therefore of you, into whose hands this Treatise shall come, that you would receive it with mind and affection, answerable to that wherewith it is offered to you, free from partiality and private respects; that you would consider Cases of Conscience are written out of Conscience: And were a distressed Prince a fit object for flattery, or this kind of instruction capable of such language, yet is this a time for every man to inform and speak his Conscience; and as many of you as shall reade me in this book, will, I hope, conceive, I had no other purpose in the publishing of it, then to give testimony to the truth for the directing of your Consciences and the discharge of mine own. I have therefore written it plainly without affectation of curiosity, having respect onely to your

profit; the Learned through the Land are sufficiently perswaded, and I may assure you all Ages have asserted this truth, out of which I could have drawn a cloud of witnesses and presented them to your sight, but thought it more expedient for your direction, to shew you the clear light of Divine Scripture and rectified Reason, the onely rules of Conscience: and if by these you shall be brought to see the crookedness of the New Doctrine of these times, and the uneven dangerous windings of this way of resistance, I have gained the end of my desires, and you have not lost by it.

One thing I must note as strange, that to discourse upon this argument should be thought (as it is by many) a work altogether beyond the profession of the Divine. Indeed popular Statesmen have alwayes held it very impolitick and unreasonable that Subjects should not in dangers imminent have means to save themselves by a Power of resistance, and accordingly framed their principles and grounds of State as unquestionable. We examine not the power or wisdome of Law-makers, but when we receive their Law, Declaration, or Command, and know it *in terminis*, understand it in the sense it bears, certainly it belongs to the Divine to consider whether it be against Gods Law, and accordingly to instruct his people. If it be agreed upon as a thing known in this State, that the King is *the higher Power* according to St Paul, *the Supreme* according to St Peter, *the Father of the Commonwealth* according to the fifth Commandment, surely it belongs to the Divine to urge obedience, honour, and subjection according to those places, and reprove re-

sistance

ſiſtance forbidden there: Which obedience we acknowledge to be limited and circumſcribed by the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, and accordingly to be yielded or denyed to the higher Power, if thoſe Laws be not repugnant to the Law of God: And for Reſiſtance, as we have not yet heard of any Law of the Land that commands or warrants it, ſo we know that were there any Law or Ordinance made to enjoyn it, ſuch would not bind, being againſt the Apoſtles expreſſe prohibition, back'd with arguments drawn from the very reaſon of Government, as ſhall be ſhewen in this following Treatiſe.

Be they who they will that preſent you with imminent dangers, and work upon your fears, that tell you of Fundamentall Laws, and give you rules of policy to captivate your reaſon; when all that's done, it is the Divine that muſt ſettle the Conſcience, which will not be quiet, if in yielding obedience to any Law or Ordinance, it comes to a ſuſpicion, that ſuch an Ordinance of man entrencheth upon the Word of God.

Let me tell you (for I ſuppoſe you follow this way *in the ſimplicity of your hearts*) how you are wrought upon by them that miſ-lead you. You are dealt with according to your generall deſire of the continuance of true Religion and the Subjects Liberty, not according to the particular grounds of ſafety which conſcience doth require: You are told, the Goſpel and your Liberties and all you have are in moſt imminent danger, and without taking Arms for the defence, irrecoverably loſt; and that this is lawfull by the Fundamentals of this Kingdome: You muſt take all this upon truſt, without an ex-

preſſe and particular warrant, to rule and ſecure your Conſcience againſt the expreſſe words of the Apoſtle forbidding reſiſtance, Rom. 13.

You profeſſe your ſelves enemies to Popery, and good reaſon for it, but why ſhould you therefore be enemies to your King that declares againſt it too. I would you could obſerve how, under pretence of keeping out Popery, you are led in this way of reſiſtance by the like ſteps that brought Popery in. For examine your hearts and try if the name of *Parliament* (which is of honourable eſteem with all) be not raiſed to the like exceſſe of credit with you, as the name of the *Church* is with the Papiſts; if you have not within you a ſilent thought of infallibility in that great Councel, and ſo with an implicit faith are ready to receive and maintain whatever is concluded there; if you be not drawn to believe your Prince is minded to overthrow Religion, and upon ſuch a ſuppoſall or belief (according to the very method of Jeſuiticall practiſes) to take up Arms againſt him.

So will you, if you look not to it, be blindly carried on againſt all rules of Conſcience; for you have neither certain knowledge of your Princes heart, to reſolve for reſiſtance upon a ſuppoſall of ſuch intentions in him; nor have you any certain rule to warrant the lawfulneſſe of reſiſting upon ſuch ſuppoſall, and to ſecure you againſt the Apoſtles prohibition, and damnation laid upon it; nor have you any judgement of Charity, in concluding ſuch intentions in your Prince againſt his deepeſt proteſtations made in ſuch times of his diſtreſſe, and without that all is nothing though you lay down, as you think, your life

At the ſecond breach in the fourth page of the Epiſtle after theſe words [to take up Arms againſt him] *adde this:*

✳ IF you do not reſt ſatisfied with your generall intention of a good end, that is, the defence of Religion, not examining the means, you now uſe, to compaſſe that end; like thoſe that for the advancing of the Catholick cauſe, as they call it, attempt any thing however unjuſt, even to the deſtruction of Kings, that are ſet over them; this blindneſſe is Popiſh, and practice Jeſuiticall. Laſtly, examine your hearts, if you be not confirmed in your way by the number of your Profeſſours, like as they are by the Univerſality of their Church, reſting upon the perſons of men, not trying the Cauſe it ſelf by the touchſtone of divine Scripture and rectified Reaſon. I know it prevails with many thouſands of you, becauſe you ſee, as you think, and uſe to ſay, All good people that have ſenſe of Religion, and Conſcience of their wayes, do go along with you, and you cannot believe that God would ſuffer them to be ſo generally deluded; let me tell you, you do hereby very uncharitably conclude upon all thoſe that run not with you to the like exceſſe, and I may ſay without breach of Charitie, they that appear with you in the Cauſe, would not all be found ſuch, as you conceive them to be, if they were examined by the true marks of Chriſtian profeſſion, that is, by the true doctrine of faith, by their charitie, honeſtie, obedience,

dience, meekneſſe of Spirit, and the like; without which your Religion is vain, whatever your exerciſes, or performances of duties be; the Phariſees righteouſneſſe will exceed yours, and his frequency and length of prayer will be as ſure a mark as yours; nay the Anabaptiſt, at this day will outdo you in any of your forms of godlineſſe. I do not ſpeak this againſt the frequent and ſincere performance of holy duties: God forbid I ſhould. Nor do I ſpeak it of you all: I know there are many good and Conſcientious men that go your way in the ſimplicitie of their hearts, as thoſe did that followed Abſolom; whom the juſt God ſuffers hitherto to be deceived, that even by their example this power of Reſiſtance may gather ſtrength to the juſt puniſhment of this ſinfull land, and that they themſelves when their eyes ſhall be opened (which, I hope, will be ere long) may ſee their own weakneſſe, and be ſo much more humbled for it.

In the mean time you are according to the blindneſſe of a Popiſh way in all the former reſpects, carryed on againſt all rules of Conſcience; *&c.*

life for Religion. How much ſafer would it be for you to be guided by the ſure Rules of Conſcience, and (if it ſhould pleaſe God to bring upon you what you fear) to ſuffer unjuſtly, then in the unwarrantable prevention of it to do unjuſtly. 1.Cor. 13.

To this purpoſe ſhall you have this Treatiſe ſpeaking to you for the direction of your Conſciences. If you think it ſtrikes too boldly upon any thing concerning the Parliament, I deſire yours and their favourable interpretation, fain would I ſilence every thought and word that may ſeem to reflect upon that high Court; but what is neceſſary, I muſt ſpeak for truth and conſcience ſake, from which neither King nor Parliament ſhould make us ſwerve. We are taught that Kings muſt not be flattered; and the people ought to learn, that Parliaments muſt not be Idolized: That has been often charged as a fault upon the Clergie, and This I fear is that ſinne of the people, which, together with the licentiouſneſſe indulged back again to them, ha's moved God to blow upon that wiſh'd for fruit we might have reaped by this ſo deſired a Parliament. For when I ſee man is more ſenſible of every breach of his own rights and priviledges, then of thoſe unparalleld breaches ſo frequently made upon Gods publick Worſhip, I cannot but think the Lord will require it of this Land; and when I ſee right and juſt ſubverted, property and liberty expoſed to the will and power of every one that is pleaſed to conceive his neighbour a malignant, and able to make him ſo by commanding his goods and perſon, I cannot but complain with the Pſalmiſt, *The foundations of the earth are out of courſe*; and appeal to heaven, *Ariſe O God, judge* Pſal. 82.

thou the earth. And I truſt, that albeit this Spirit of ſeduction may prevail a while, & this way of reſiſtance proſper, for the great but juſt puniſhment of this ſinfull Land, the Lord will look down from heaven, and make truth and peace again to flouriſh out of the earth, will look upon the face of his Anointed, and
Pſal.18.35. by this affliction as by *a loving correction make him great.* Great to the maintenance of Gods true Religion, and to the reſtoring of the peace and proſperity of this Kingdome; And *Let all the people ſay, Amen.*

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¶ The Resolving of Conscience,

Touching the unlawfulnesse of the Warre and Resistance now made against the KING.

LAmentable are the distractions of this Kingdome, and the more, because they gather strength from the name and authoritie of (that, which as it is of high esteem with all, so should it be a remedy to all these our distempers) a Parliament: and from the pretended defence of those things that are most dear unto us, Religion, Liberties, Laws. Whereupon so many good people, that have come to a sense of Religion and godlinesse, are miserably carried away by a strange implicit faith to believe, that whatsoever is said or done in the name of a Parliament, and in the pretended defence of Religion, Liberties, Laws, to be infallibly true, and altogether just.

But he that will consider, men are men, and would seek a surer rule for his conscience then the Traditions or Ordinances of men taken hand over head, shall upon reasonable examination find upon what plausible but groundlesse principles, upon

what fair but deceiving pretences, upon what grievous but causeleſſe imputations laid upon Majeſtie it ſelf, poore people are drawn into Arms againſt the duty and allegiance they ow to their Prince by the Laws of God and man. For directing the Conſcience in ſuch an examination this enſuing Diſcourſe is framed, as briefly and plainly as the matter will permit.

SECT. I.

CONſcience in reſolving upon a queſtion, firſt layes down the Propoſition or Principle or Ground on which it goes; then it aſſumes or applyes to the preſent caſe; then it concludes and reſolves: as in this queſtion, affirmatively for Reſiſtance, thus, Subjects in ſuch a caſe may arm and reſiſt: But that caſe is now come: Therefore now they may and do juſtly reſiſt.

Or negatively againſt Reſiſtance, either by denying the Principle: Subjects may not in ſuch a caſe arm and reſiſt, therefore now they do not juſtly reſiſt. Or by admitting the Principle and denying the Caſe; Subjects in ſuch a caſe may arm and reſiſt. But that caſe is not now. Therefore now they do not juſtly arm and reſiſt.

What it is that Conſcience is here to admit or deny, and how it ought to conclude and reſolve, this enſuing Treatiſe will diſcover: which that it may more clearly appear, we will premiſe,

Firſt, that in the Propoſition or Principle by the word *Reſiſtance* is meant, not a denying of obedience to the Princes command, but a riſing in arms, a forcible reſiſtance; this though clear enough in the queſti-

question, yet I thought fit to insinuate, to take off that false imputation laid upon the Divines of this Kingdome, and upon all those that appear for the King in this cause, that they endeavour to defend an absolute power in him, and to raise him to an Arbitrary way of government; This we are as much against on his part, as against Resistance on the subjects part. For we may and ought to deny obedience to such commands of the Prince, as are unlawfull by the Law of God, yea, by the established Laws of the Land: For in these we have his will and consent given upon good advice, and to obey him against the Laws were to obey him against himself, his sudden will against his deliberate will; but a far other matter it is to resist by power of arms, as is in the question implyed, and as we see at this day to our astonishment, first the power of arms taken from the Prince by setting up the *Militia*, then that power used against him by an army in the field.

Secondly, we must consider, that they which plead for Resistance in such a case as is supposed, do grant it must be concluded upon, *Omnibus ordinibus regni consentientibus*, that is, with the generall and unanimous consent of the Members of the two Houses, the representative body of the whole Kingdome: also they yield it must be onely *Legitima defensio*, a mere defensive resistance; and this also Conscience must take notice of.

Thirdly, it is considerable, that in the supposition or case it is likewise granted by them, that the Prince must first be so and so disposed, and bent to overthrow Religion, Liberties, Laws, and will not discharge his trust for the maintaining of them, be-

fore such a Resistance can be pretended to. And although the question is, and must be so put now, as that it seems to straiten the Case, and make it depend upon the supposall of the people; yet it so much the more enlarges the falshhod of the Principle, for it plainly speaks thus; If subjects believe or verily suppose their Prince will change Religion they may rise in arms; whereas all that have pleaded for Resistance in case of Religion, did suppose another Religion enjoyned upon the subject first. We will therefore endeavour to clear all for the resolving of Conscience in these three generalls:

I. That no Conscience upon such a case as is supposed can find clear ground to rest upon for such resistance as is pretended to, but according to the rules of Conscience *What is not of faith is sinne*: and, *In doubtfull things the safer way is to be chosen*; Conscience it will find cause to forbear and to suffer, rather then resist; *doubtfull*, I say, not that a Conscience truly informed will not clearly see the unlawfulnesse of this Resistance, but because no conscience can be truly perswaded of the lawfulnesse of it, and so that Conscience that resolves for it, must needs run doubtingly or blindly upon the work.

II. That the resistance now used and made against the Prince is not such as they pretend to, either for that generall and unanimous consent that should precede it, or that defensive way that should accompany it, according to their own grants that plead for it, and therefore Conscience cannot admit such a resistance as is made now adayes.

III. If Conscience could be perswaded, that it is lawfull in such a case to resist, and that this rising

in

in arms is such a resistance as they say may in such a case be pretended to, yet can it never (if it be willing to know any thing) be truly perswaded that such a case is now come, that is, That the King refuses to discharge his trust, is bent to overthrow Religion, &c. and therefore Conscience cannot but resolve, this Opposition and Resistance to be unlawfull, unwarrantable, and (according to the Apostle) damnable; and that people, running into arms without sufficient warrant, commit murder if they shed bloud in the pursuit of this Resistance, and perish in their own sinne, if die in the cause.

SECT. II.

FIrst then, that the Principle is untrue upon which they go that resist, and that Conscience cannot find clear ground to rest upon for making resistance: for it heares the Apostle expressely say, *Whosoever resist shall receive to themselves damnation*: and it cannot find any limitation in Scripture that will excuse the Resistance of these dayes. Rom. 13. 2.

The exception or limitation that is made, is taken from the Persons resisting, and the Causes of resistance, thus, They that are private persons and do resist upon any cause receive damnation, but the States or representative body of the whole people may resist upon such or such causes.

But how will this satisfie Conscience, when every distinction or limitation made upon any place of Scripture, must have its ground in Scripture; this ha's onely some examples in Scripture that come not home to the cause, and some appearances of Reason; which are easily refuted by clearer Scripture and Reason.

1.Sam. 14. The examples alledged are, I. The peoples rescuing of Jonathan out of the hands of Saul. *Answ.* Here the people drew not into arms of themselves, but being there at Sauls command, did by a loving violence and importunitie hinder the execution of a particular and passionate unlawfull command.

II. Davids resisting of Saul. *Answ.* 1. Davids guard that he had about him was onely to secure his person against the cut-throats of Saul, if sent to take away his life. 2. It was a mere defense without all violence offered to Saul; therefore he still gave place as Saul pursued, and did no act of hostility to him or any of his army when they were in his power, 1. Sam. 26. But thirdly, because they gather out of the 1. Sam. 23. 12. that David would have defended Keilah against Saul, if the inhabitants would have been faithfull to him. We say that's onely an uncertain supposition, not fit to ground Conscience in this great point of resistance; also to this and all other Davids demeanours, in his standing out against Saul, we say his example was extraordinary; for he was anointed and designed by the Lord to succeed Saul, and therefore he might use an extraordinary way of safeguarding his person.

These are the chief examples. They make use al-
2.Chro.26. so of the high Priests resisting the King in the temple, and Elisha's shutting the doore against the Kings Messenger that came to take away his head; and the like; which speak not so much as the two former, having no appearance of such resistance as is implyed in the question.

But we answer, 1. That of the high Priest is more

more pertinently applyed to the Popes power of excommunicating and deposing Kings, then to this power of resisting now used; but truly to neither. For he did no more then what every Minister may and ought to do if a King should attempt the administration of the Sacrament; that is, to reprove him, to keep the Elements from him. Ambrose Bishop of Milan withstood the Emperour at the entrance of Gods house, not by Excommunication, much lesse by force of Arms, but by letting him understand he was not fit for that place, there to be made partaker of the holy things, till he had repented of that outrage and bloudshed at Thessalonica. Upon which the Emperour withdrew.

The Priests here are said to thrust him out of the Temple, but we must note Gods hand was first upon him smiting him with leprosie, and by that discharging him of the Kingdome also. It is added in the Text, *yea himself also hasted to go out*. But enough of this.

2. Elisha's example speaks very little. But let us thence take occasion to say, That Personall defence is lawfull against the sudden and illegall assaults of such Messengers; yea of the Prince himself thus far, to ward his blows, to hold his hands, and the like: not to endanger his person, not to return blows, no; for though it be naturall to defend a mans self, yet the whole Commonwealth is concerned in his person, as we see in the Commonwealth of the creatures, one particular nature will defend it self against another, but yield to the universall.

If this be drawn from Personall defence to the Publick resistance now used, as usually they make the

the Argument thus ; If the body naturall then the body politick may defend it self, if a private person, much more the whole State may ; and they do but shut the way up against the King that comes to destroy his Parliament, and take away their heads.

We answer: As the naturall body defends it self against an outward force, but strives not by a schisme or contention within it self ; so may the body politick against an outward power, but not as now by one part of it set against the Head and another part of the same body ; for that tends to the dissolution of the whole. Again : Personall defence may be without all offense, and does not strike at the order and power that is over us, as generall resistance by Arms doth, which cannot be without many unjust violences, and does immediately strike at that order which is the life of a Commonwealth. And this makes a large difference 'twixt Elisha's shutting the doore against this messenger, and their shutting up the way against the King by armed men ; nor can they conclude upon such an intention in the Kings heart without the spirit of Elisha. He professeth he intends no violence to his Parliament, nor ha's he taken away the head of any of theirs that have fallen into his power, nor does desire any other punishment inflicted upon any that do oppose him, then what a Legall triall shall adjudge them to, which no good Subject ought to decline.

Now let us see how Scripture excludes this and all other exceptions, giving no allowance to resistance, in regard of Persons or Causes, or other Pretenses, and this not onely by Examples, but by Precept, Conclusions, Resolutions, which are more safe.

First,

First, we have the two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation, gathering the people against Moses and Aaron, Numb. 16. 3. and perishing in their sinne. If it be replied, the Persons indeed were publick, but there was no cause for it; Moses and Aaron did not deserve it. I answer, but the other supposed they did, and that is now enough, it seems, to make people not onely say to their Prince, *You take too much upon you*, but therefore to rise in arms also, which I hope will appear to be without cause too in the end of this Treatise.

Secondly, see for the cause of Resistance, 1. Sam. 8. 11. there the people are let to understand how they should be oppressed under Kings, yet all that violence and injustice that should be done unto them is no just cause of resistance, for they have no remedy left them but crying to the Lord, v. 18.

Thirdly, we have not onely Example, but Resolution and Conclusion out of Scripture. The people might not be gathered together either for Civill assemblies, or for warre, but by his command that had the power of the Trumpet, that is, the supreme as Moses was, Numb. 10.

Also when David had Saul and his army in his power, he resolves the matter thus, *Who can stretch out his hand against the Lords annointed and be guiltlesse*, 1. Sam. 26. 9. If replyed, now they intend not hurt to the Kings person; yet might not they as well have hurt his person in the day of battell, as any of them that were swept away from about him by the furie of the Ordinance, which puts no difference 'twixt Kings and common souldiers?

This also I must observe concerning this point of

Resistance, out of the Old Testament (for from thence have they all their seeming instances) That it is a marvellous thing, that among so many Prophets reprehending the Kings of Israel and Judah for idolatrie, crueltie, oppression, none should call upon the Elders of the people for this duty of Resistance.

But lastly, that place of the Apostle, Rom. 13. at first mentioned, does above all give us a clear resolution upon the point, which now I shall free from all exceptions.

First, I may suppose, that the King is the *Supreme*, as S. Peter calls him; or *the higher power*, as S. Paul here, though it be by some now put to the question, as one absurditie commonly begets another to defend it; but I prove it. S. Peters distinction comprehends all that are in authoritie, *The King as supreme, and those that are sent by him*, 1. Pet. 2. 12. in which latter rank are the two Houses of Parliament, being sent by him, or sent for by him, and by his Writ sitting there. Also by the Oath of Supremacy it is acknowledged, That there is no power above him without or within this Realm; and that he is in all Causes and over all Persons Supreme. Also acknowledged by the Petitions of the two Houses addressed unto his Majestie, wherein they style themseves *His loyall Subjects*. But enough of this.

Secondly, in the text of the Apostle, All persons under the higher Power are expressely forbidden to resist. For *whosoever*, in the second verse, must be as large as the *every soul* in the first, and the resistance forbidden here concerns all, upon whom the subjection is injoyned there, or else we could not make

these

these Universals good against the Papists, exempting the Pope and Clergie from the subjection.

Thirdly, in those dayes there was a standing and continuall great Senate, which not long before had the supreme power in the Romane State, and might challenge more by the Fundamentalls of that State, then our great Councel (I think) will, or can. But now the Emperour being *Supreme*, as S. Peter calls him; or the *higher power*, as S. Paul here, there is no power of resistance left to any that are under him, by the Apostle. This for the Persons that should resist, all are forbidden. Now consider the Cause.

Fourthly, was there ever more cause of resistance then in those dayes? were not the Kings then not onely conceived to be enclined so and so, but even actually were enemies to Religion, had overthrown Laws and Liberties? and therefore if any should from the Apostles reasons that he gives against Resistance in the 3, 4, 5 verses, (*For rulers are not a terrour to good works but evil, and he is the minister of God to thee for good*) reply, That Rulers so long as they are not a terrour to the good, but minister for our good, are not to be resisted: the consideration of those times leaves no place for such exception, because the Powers then (which the Apostle forbids to resist) were nothing so, but subverters of that which was good and just.

If it be replyed, That prohibition was temporary and fit for those times, as it is said by some. I answer, 1. This is a new exception never heard of (I think) but in these times. 2. It is groundlesse, and against the Text, for the reasons of the prohibition in the 3, 4, 5, 6 verses, are prepetuall, from that or-

der, that good, for which the Powers are ordained of God, which will be of force as long as there is government, and will alwayes be reasons against resistance; because resistance (though it be made against abused Powers as then they were) doth tend to the dissolution of that order, for which the power it self is set up of God. By which also that other distinction of theirs is made void, when as they reply, as they think, acutely, That they resist not the power, but the abuse of the power.

It is also answered by some, that the Emperours then were absolute Monarchs, and therefore not to be resisted. I answer: They did indeed rule absolutely and arbitrarily, which should have according to the principles of these dayes been a stronger motive to resist. But how did they make themselves of Subjects such absolute Monarchs, was it not by force and change of the government, and was not the right of the people and Senate (according to the Principles of these dayes) good against them with as much or more reason, then the right of the people of this Land is against the succession of this Crown descending by three Conquests? And this I speak not to win an Arbitrary power or such as Conquerours use, unto this Crown, but onely to shew that Resistance can be no more made against the Kings of England, then it could against those Emperours. Nay, with lesse reason against them, then these.

Lastly, it is replyed, That Christian Religion was then enacted against by Law; but the Religion contended for is established by Law. I answer: But is the Religion established denied to any that now fight for it? Shall the Apostles prohibition be good

against

against Christians in the behalf of actuall Tyrants persecuting that Religion, and not against Subjects freely enjoying the Religion established? Or may Protestants upon a jealousie resist a Protestant King professing the same Religion, and promising to conserve it entire to them?

2. The prohibition does not onely concern Christians, but all the people under those Emperours, and not onely Religion was persecuted, but Liberties also lost, the people and Senate were enslaved by Edicts, and Laws then inforced upon them, and they (according to the principles of these dayes) might resist, notwithstanding the Apostles prohibition, and the Laws then forced upon them; or else the State, as they usually say, had not means to provide for its safetie. Thus one phansie of theirs thwarts another, because both are groundlesse. But more anon of those means of safety they suppose to be in every State, by the power of Resistance.

Hitherto of Scripture, which is most powerfull against Resistance, in the prohibition and the reasons of it, by which Conscience will clearly see, it can have no warrant from Scripture for Resistance. Now let us try what Reason can enforce.

SECT. III.

FOr proving this power of resistance, there is much speech used about the Fundamentalls of this government, which because they lie low and unseen by vulgar eyes, being not written Laws, the people are easily made to believe they are such as they (that have power to build new Laws upon them) say they are. And indeed none so fit to judge

of them as they: Yet this we know, and every one that can use his reason knows, that the Fundamentalls must needs be such as will bear the settled government of this Land, such as are not contradictory to the written established Laws: but both the government we see used in this Land, and the written Laws which we reade, must have a correspondency and analogie of reason to these Fundamentalls, and these to them.

Well then, they that plead for Power of resistance in the people, lay the first ground-work of their Fundamentalls thus: Power is originally in and from the people, and if when by election they have intrusted a Prince with the Power, he will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people; or, as in this Kingdome to the two houses of Parliament (the representative body of the people) to see to it; they may reassume the power.

This is the bottom of their Fundamentalls as they are now discovered to the people. But here we may take notice by the way, that however the Fundamentalls of this Government are much talked of, this is according to them the Fundamentall in all Kingdomes and Governments; for they say power was every where from the people at first, and so this will serve no more for the power of resistance in England, then in France, or Turkey: but if this must be a Fundamentall, it is such an one as upon it this Government cannot be built, but Confusion and Anarchy may readily be raised; as shall appear by the clearing of these two particulars, Whether the Power be so originally and chiefly from the people as they would have it; then, Whether they may upon such causes reassume that power. First,

First, of the originall of power, which they will have so from the people, that it shall be from God onely by a kind of permissive approbation as we may see by the Observatour, and all other that plead for this Power of resistance. We must here distinguish what the Writers of the other side seem to confound, to wit, *the Power* it self, (which is a sufficiency of authority for command and coercion in the governing of a people) from the *designing of the Person* to bear that power, and the *qualification* of that power according to the divers wayes of executing it in severall forms of government; and then we grant that the designing of the person is sometimes from the people by choyce, and that the power of the Prince receiving qualification by joynt consent of himself and the people, is limited by the Laws made with such consent; but the power it self is of God originally and chiefly: which we prove by Scripture and Reason.

First, by such places of Scripture as plainly shew an ordaining and appointing, rather then a permission or approbation.

1. The Apostle speaks it expressely, *The powers are of God*, Rom. 13. 1. and, *the ordinance of God*, vers. 2. S. Peter indeed saith, *every ordinance of man*, 1. Epist. 2. but *of man* there, and *of God* here is much differing; there it is ἀνθρωπίνη, of man, *subjectivè*, that is, every ordinance or power set up amongst men; but here it is ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, of God, *causaliter*, that is, from him, his ordinance; and if in that ἀνθρωπίνη there be implyed any creation or causality, or invention of man, it respects the qualification of the power according to the forms of severall governments and offices

offices in them, which are from the invention of man; it does not make the power it self the creation of man, which is the constitution and ordinance of God; and men are not onely naturally bent to society, but also are bound as they are reasonable creatures, to set up and live under government as under an order of that providence by which the world is governed.

II. He is called the *minister of God*, v. 4. but if so from the people and no otherwise from God then they would have him, he should be *minister populi* rather; he is indeed their minister for their good, which makes the people to be the end of this governing power, not the fountain and originall of it: therefore the necessity of subjection urged in the fifth verse, ha's a double ground, *The ordinance of God*, whose ministers Rulers are, there's the fountain and originall of Power to govern; then *the Peoples good*, upon which Rulers ought to attend, that's an end of the Governing power.

III. To the same purpose speak those other places, *By me Kings reigne:* and, *I have said ye are Gods*, Psal. 82. in relation to which our Saviour saith, Joh. 10. *They are called Gods to whom the word of God came*, that *dixi*, that *word* is the command, the issuing out as it were the commission for the setting up of a governing power among the people.

These places cannot be satisfied with that poore part, they on the other side leave to God in the setting up of power for the governing of men, that is, to approve it when the people ha's created or invented it. Indeed if we consider the qualification of this governing power, and the manner of executing

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it according to the severall forms of government, we granted it before to be the invention of man, and when such a qualification or form is orderly agreed upon, we say it ha's Gods permissive approbation.

And therefore the imputation is causeless which the Pleaders on the other side do heedlessely and ignorantly lay upon us Divines, as if we cryed up Monarchy, and that onely government to be *jure divino*. For although Monarchy ha's this excellencie, that the Government God set up over his people in the person of Moses, the Judges, and the Kings was Monarchicall, yet we confesse that neither that, nor Aristocracy, or any other form is *jure divino*; but we say the power it self, or that sufficiency of Authoritie to govern, which is in Monarchy or Aristocracy, abstractly considered from the qualifications of either form, is an efflux or constitution subordinate to that providence, an ordinance of that *Dixi*, that silent *Word* by which the world was at first made, and is still governed under God.

Secondly, as this appears by the former places of Scripture, so is it also suitable to Reason: Because God doth govern all creatures, Reasonable as well as Unreasonable; the inferiour or lower world he governs by the heavens or superiour bodies, according to those influences and powers he ha's put into them; and the reasonable creatures, Men, he governs too by others set up in his stead over them; for which they are called *Gods*, because in his stead over the people: and the Powers are said to be ὑπὸ Θεῦ πεταγμένοι, Rom. 13. 1. not onely ἀπὸ Θεῦ, *from God*; but also as orders ranked under him too; subordinate to that providence by which all creatures are governed.

These his Ministers he sometimes designed immediately by himself, as Moses, the Judges, Saul, David, &c. Now he designes his Vicegerents on earth mediately, as by election of the people, by succession or inheritance, by conquest, &c. To conclude, The Power it self of Government is of God, however the person be designed, or that Power qualified according to the severall forms of government by those Laws that are established, or those grants that are procured for the peoples securitie. Thus much of the originall of Power.

SECT. IV.

NOw we come to the Forfeiture, as I may call it, of this Power. If the Prince, say they, will not discharge his trust, then it falls to the people or the two Houses (the representative body of the people) to see to it, and to reassume that Power, and thereby to resist. This they conceive to follow upon the *derivation of Power* from the people by virtue of election, and upon the *stipulation or covenant* of the Prince with the people, as also to be necessary in regard of those *means of safety*, which every State should have within it self. We will examine them in order, and shall finde the arguments inconsequent.

Concerning the derivation of Power we answer; First, if it be not from the people, as they will have it, and as before it was cleared, then can there be no reassuming of this Power by the people; that's plain by their own argument.

Secondly, if the people should give the power so absolutely as they would have it, leaving nothing to God in it but approbation, yet could they not therefore

fore have right to take that power away. For many things which are altogether in our diſpoſing before we part with them, are not afterward in our power to recall; eſpecially ſuch in which there redounds to God an intereſt by the donation, as in things devoted, though afterward they come to be abuſed. So although it were, as they would have it, that they give the power and God approves; yet becauſe the Lords hand alſo and his oyl is upon the perſon elected to the Crown, and then he is the Lords anointed, and the miniſter of God, thoſe hands of the people which were uſed in lifting him up to the Crown, may not again be lifted up againſt him, either to take the Crown from his head, or the ſword out of his hand. This will not a true-informed Conſcience dare to do.

Thirdly, How ſhall the Conſcience be ſatisfied that this their argument, grounded upon election and the derivation of power from the people can have place in this Kingdome, when as the Crown not onely deſcends by inheritance, but alſo ha's ſo often been ſettled by Conqueſt in the lines of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? In anſwer to this they look beyond all theſe, and ſay, the right is ſtill good to the people by reaſon of their firſt election. I anſwer: So then that firſt election muſt be ſuppoſed here, and ſuppoſed good againſt all other titles, or elſe this power of reſiſtance falls to the ground. It is probable indeed that Kings at firſt were by choyce here as elſewhere; but can Conſcience reſt upon ſuch remote probabilities for reſiſtance, or think that firſt election will give it power againſt Princes that do not claim by it. We tell them the Romane

Emperours were not to be resisted, Rom. 13. 2. They reply, as we had it above, that they were absolute Monarchs. But how came they of Subjects to be absolute Monarchs? was it any otherwise then by force and arms? the way that the Saxons, Danes, and Normans made themselves Masters of this people, and was not the right of the people as good against them for the power of resistance, by virtue of the first election, as well as of the people of this Land, against their Kings after so many Conquests? This I speak, not as if the Kings of this Land might rule as Conquerours: God forbid. But to shew this slender plea of the first election can no more take place against the Kings of this Land, then it could against the Romane Monarchs, especially according to their argument, that hold all power originally from the people, and that (as we observed above) to be the Fundamentall of all government. Therefore whether Kings were in this Land at first by election or no; we acknowledge what belongs to the duty of a Prince in doing justice and equity: what Grants also, Laws, Priviledges have since those Conquests been procured, or restored to the people; unto all those the King is bound. But yet not bound under forfeiture of his power to the people: which now comes to be examined in that capitulation or covenant he is said to enter with the people.

In the next place therefore, That Capitulation or Covenant, and the Oath which the Prince takes to confirm what he promiseth, are so alledged, as if the breach or non-performance on the Princes part were a forfeiture of his power. But we answer, The words *capitulation* or *covenant* are now much used

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to make men believe the Kings admittance to the Crown is altogether conditionall, as in the merely elective Kingdomes of Polonia, Swedeland, &c. whereas our King is King before he comes to the Coronation, which is sooner or later at his pleasure, but alwayes to be in due time in regard of that security his people receive by his taking the oath, and he again mutually from them, in which performance their is something like a covenant, all but the forfeiture. The King there promises and binds himself by oath to performance. Could they in this covenant shew us such an agreement between the King and his people, that in case he will not discharge his trust, then it shall be lawfull for the States of the Kingdome by arms to resist, and provide for the safety thereof, it were something.

If it be said, that so much is implyed in the first election. We answer: We examined that slender plea of the first election above, as it was thought to be a derivation of power. Now as it is thought to have a covenant in it; we say, That usually in all Empires the higher we arise, the freer we find the Kings, and still downwards the people have gained upon them: for at first when the people chose their Rulers, they did, as Justine in the beginning of his history observes, resigne themselves to be governed by such, of whose prudence and moderation they had experience, and then, *Arbitria Principum pro legibus erant*, the will and discretion of the Prince was law unto the people; but men were men though in Gods place, and therefore for the restraint of that power, with consent of the Prince, such Laws have been still procured by the people as might make for their security.

Now from a promise the King makes for doing justice(the duty of every Prince)for the the continuing those priviledges, immunities, that have been granted or restored to the people, and for the observing of those Laws that have been established with the Princes consent, and from that oath (by which for the greater securitie of the people he binds himself to the performance of the premises) to infer a great obligation lieth upon him, is right: but to gather thence a forfeiture of his power upon the not performance, is a plain but dangerous inconsequent argument.

And though such argument may seem to have some force in States merely elective and pactionall, yet can it never be made to appear to any indifferent understanding, that the like must obtain in this Kingdome. And to this purpose Phil. Pareus excuseth what his father had written more harshly upon the 13. to the Romanes, in the point of resistance, that it was to be understood of elective and pactionall government, not to the prejudice of England, or such Monarchies. For where the King, as it is said, never dyes, where he is King before oath or coronation, where he is not admitted upon any such capitulation as gives any power to the people, or their representative body, as is pretended to: Nay, where that body cannot meet but by the will of the Prince, and is dissoluble at his pleasure; that there, in such a State, such a power should be pretended to, and used against the Prince as at this day, and that according to the Fundamentalls of such a State, can never appear reasonable to any indifferent judgement, much lesse satisfie Conscience in the resistance that is now made by such a pretended power. What

What then shall we say? Is the King not bound to perform? Yes, by all means. Or ha's he not a limited power according to the Laws? Yes. What then if he will take to himself more power, or not perform what he is bound to? Suppose that; (though thanks be to God we are not come to that.) Then may the Subjects use all fair means as are fit to use, cryes to God, petitions to the Prince, denials of obedience to his unlawfull commands, denials of subsidie, ayd, &c. But are they left without all means to compell by force and resistance? This however it may at first sight seem unreasonable to the people, and very impolitick to the Statesman, yet ha's Scripture forbidden it, as before was plainly shewed, and so doth Reason too, as will appear in the examination of their last proof they make for reassuming this power and resisting, from that necessity of means of safety, which every State is to have within it self: Of which now.

SECT. V.

IN the last place it is thus reasoned, Were it not so that the two Houses might take and use this power, the State should not have means to provide for its own safety, when the King shall please to desert his Parliament, deny his consent to their bills, abuse his power, &c. So they.

When right and just will not defend a thing then Necessity is usually pleaded; as if, because *Salus populi* in a good sense is *Suprema lex*, every thing must be honest which is *Spartæ Utile*, imagined to conduce to the proposed end. We answer therefore,

First,

First, They have many weapons sharpened for this resistance at the Philistins forge, arguments borrowed from the Romane schools, among them this is one, the very reason that is made for the Popes power of curbing or deposing Kings in case of Heresie. For if there be not that power in the Church, say they, then in case the Civill Magistrate will not discharge his trust, the Church ha's not means for the maintenance of the Catholick faith and its own safety. Well, as we reply to them, the Church ha's means of preserving the faith, such as God ha's appointed, though not that of one Visible head, which though at first seems plausible for preserving the Unity of faith, yet ha's experience shown it to be indeed the means to bring much mischief upon the Church: So to the other we say, The State ha's means of preservation such as the Law ha's prescribed, though not such as are here pretended to in this power of resistance; which though seemingly plausible, yet true Reason will conclude them dangerous, and at this day, God knows, we see it. Of this in the fourth answer more particularly.

Secondly, If every State ha's such means to provide for its safety, what means of safety had the Christian Religion under the Romane Emperours in and after the Apostles times? or the people then enslaved, what means had they for their Liberties? had they this of resistance? Tertullian, in his Apol. sayes, the Christians had number and force sufficient to withstand, but they had no warrant; and the Apostle expressely forbids them and all other under the higher power, to resist.

If it be replied, as it was above touched; That things

things being so enacted by Law, it was not lawfull for them to resist. I answer: But it is known that not onely those Edicts which conterned Christian Religion, but also all other that proceeded from those Emperours and enslaved the people, were merely arbitrary and enforced upon the Senate, and that the Senate did not discharge their trust in consenting to them, and therefore according to the former position the people might resist, notwithstanding the Apostles prohibition, or else no means of safety left in that State.

So would it be in this State, if at any time a King that would rule arbitrarily, as those Emperours did, should by some means or other work out of the two Houses the better affected, and by the Consent of the Major part of them that remain, compasse his desires; might the people then resist? The Apostle forbids it to them as well as to the Romanes in such a case: if so, where are these means of safety by this Power of resistance? Or are these means of safety extinct in the Consent of the Senate, or the two Houses? No, the people will tell them they discharge not their trust, they chose them not to betray them, enslave them; but according to the principles now taught them, they might lay hold upon this power of resistance, for their representative body claims it by them.

Thirdly we answer, We cannot expect absolute means of safety and securitie in a State, but such as are reasonable; and such are provided, especially in the fundamentals of this Government, by that excellent temper of the three estates in Parliament, there being a power of denying in each of them, and

no power of enacting in one or two of them without the third; which as it is for the securitie of the Commonwealth (for what might follow if the King and Lords without the Commons, or these and the Lords without the King, might determine, the evils of these dayes do shew) so is this power of denying, for the security of each State against other, of the Commons against the King and Lords, of the Lords against them: and must the King trust onely, and not be trusted? Must not he also have his securitie against the other, which he cannot have but by Power of denying? This is that Temper of the three Estates in Parliament, the due observing whereof, in the moderate use of this Power of denying, is the reasonable means of this States safety: but now not onely the name of Parliament, which implyes the three Estates, is restrained usually to the two Houses, but also that Temper is dissolved. I need not speak it, the distractions and convulsions of the whole Commonwealth, as the distempers in a naturall body, do sufficiently shew such a dissolution, and what's the cause of it.

If it be replied, as it is, for the reasonablenesse of these means of safety, through that Power of resistance and the finall trust reposed in the representative body of the people, That many see more then one, and more safety in the judgement of many then of one. *Answ.* True. But 1. Conscience might here demand for its satisfaction, Why should an hundred in the House of Commons see more then three hundred; or twenty in the Lords House, more then sixty that are of different judgement and withdrawn?

2 Reason

2. Reason doth suppose, That the Prince, though one, sees with the eyes of many, yea with their eyes who are of different judgement from him, for which his Houses of Parliament are his great Councel to present to his eyes the differences of things with the reasons of them; and albeit he sometimes dissents from the Major or Prevailing part, because he is convinced in his own judgement they seek themselves not his or the Publick good, or for other reasons that may perswade him against their Vote, yet have all times thought good to have Kings, and to reduce the judgement of many unto one. The Government which God made choice of to set up among his people was Monarchicall still, first in Moses, then in the Judges, then in the Kings; yea generally all Authours yield, and experience ha's taught it, That Monarchy is a better government then Aristocracy, because the Tyranny and Miscarriage of one, sometime happening in a Monarchy, is nothing so dangerous as Oligarchy, Faction, and Division usually incident to Aristocracy or the Government by many equals. Again, as all times have thought it reasonable to have Monarchy, which settles the chief power and finall judgement in One; so will there be alwayes sufficient reason to withhold the King from a wilfull deniall of his Consent to the free and unanimous Vote of his Houses: he cannot but see there will alwayes be some necessary good accrewing to him by his Parliament, that will keep him in all reason from doing so and; no cases can be put or inconveniences feared upon his Power of denying, but greater and more eminent will appear upon his not having it, as ha's been insinuated, and now do follow.

Fourthly therefore and lastly we answer. Such power of resistance would be no fit means of safety to a State, but prove a remedy worse then the disease. This is very plain by the drift of the Apostles reason which he gave against resistance, in the 3, 4, 5, 6. v. of the 13. to the Rom. in which we may consider, that, although the Powers then were altogether unjust, tyrannicall, subverters of true Religion, nothing answerable to the end for which the Governing Power is ordained, yet doth the Apostle draw his reasons against the resisting of them, from that good, that justice, that order for which God hath set up the higher Powers; to insinuate, that the resisting of the higher Powers, even when they are so, does tend to the overthrow of that order which is the life of a Commonwealth; and this not onely because there is still order under tyranny, but chiefly because, if it were good and lawfull to resist the power, when abused, it would open a way to the people upon the like pretences to resist and overthrow even Powers duely administred for the executing of wrath upon them that do evil.

I enter this discourse, not to cast the least blemish upon Parliaments (which are an onely remedy for distempers of the kingdome) not to reflect upon the intentions of those that are yet resident in that high Court, (unto God the judge of all, they stand or fall) not to raise jealousies, but to settle Conscience, and in the way of reasoning to shew according to the Apostles reasons what dangers and evils may ensue upon this power of resistance.

For first of all, This power of resistance, if admitted and pursued may proceed to a change of Government,

vernment, the Principles that now are gone upon, and have carried it so farre as we see at this day, may also lead it on to that greatest of evils: And I have heard and seen it defended by the example of the Low-countreys; how they excuse it throughly, I examine not, but this I am sure they can say, That their Prince, succeeding in the right of the Duke of Burgundie was admitted upon other conditions then the Kings of England are: also that a contrary religion was enforced upon them by a terrible Inquisition, whereas they that do resist the higher Powers here, do freely enjoy their religion, and have the Princes promise and protestation for it.

Secondly, This Power of resistance when used, and pursued, is accompanied with the evils of Civil warre; Former times shew it, and how little was gained by it beside the expence of bloud; as when all was referred to the rule and disposing of the 12 Peeres, how long lasted it? what security had the State by it? and at this day we feel and groan under the evils brought upon us through this power of resistance, the Law silenced, the Propertie and Libertie of the subject every where invaded; and the Lord knows when or how we shall be restored to them, or better secured in them by this way.

Thirdly, We see the danger, if (as it is now said, for the justifying of this power of resistance, The King will not discharge his trust, and therefore it falls to the representative body of the people to see to it, so) the People being discontented, and having gotten power shall say, The Members of the two Houses do not discharge the trust committed to them, they do not that for which they were chosen

and sent for, then may the multitude by this rule and principle now taught them take the Power to themselves, it being claimed by them, and say to them as Numb. 16. *Ye take too much upon you,* or as Cade, and Tylar, boast themselves Reformes of the Commonwealth, overthrow King and Parliament, fill all with rapine and confusion, draw all to a Folkmoot, and make every Shire a severall Government.

These are Dangers and Evils not conceived in the phansie, but such as reason tells us may follow, and experience hath often, and this day doth shew us, do arise upon this Power of resistance, and for the preventing of which, the Apostle gave his reasons against resisting even of abused Powers, as we heard above.

Lastly therefore, Seeing some must be trusted in every State, 'tis reason the highest and finall trust should be in the higher or supreme Power, with whom next to himself God hath intrusted the whole kingdome, all other that have power and trust, having it under him as sent by him; Good reason I say that the supreme Power (which is worth 10000 of the subjects) should have the best security on its side, for as much as Order, the life of a Commonwealth, is so best preserved, and not so endangered by Tyrannie as by factions, division, tumults, power of resistance on the subjects part, and this is according to the drift of the Apostles reasons against resistance, as before they were laid down.

Well now unto all that hath hitherto been said from Scripture and Reason let Conscience adde the oath of Supremacie and Allegeance, also the late Prote-

Proteſtation, and conſider what duty lyes upon every ſubject by the former to defend the Kings perſon and Right againſt what Power ſoever, and how by the latter he hath proteſted and undertaken before Almighty God, in the firſt place to defend the ſame; and then what can Conſcience conclude from the Premiſes? that the Prince hath his Power for the good of his people? true, but that Power cannot be prevalent for the good and protection of his people unleſſe it be preſerved to him intire, unleſſe he hath the Power of Deniall, and the chief command of Arms; or that the Prince hath a limited Power, according to the Laws eſtabliſhed? true, but if Conſcience be perſwaded he does not hold himſelf within thoſe bounds ſo fixed, can it be perſwaded alſo that the people may reaſſume that Power they never had? or take that ſword out of his hand that God hath put into it? No, Conſcience will look at that Power as the Ordinance of God, and the abuſe of that Power as a judgement and ſcourge of God upon the people, and will uſe not Arms to reſiſt the Ordinance under pretence of reſiſting the abuſe, but cryes and prayers to God, petitions to the Prince, denials of obedience to his unjuſt commands, denials of ſubſidies, aids, and all fair means that are fit for Subjects to uſe, and when done all, if not ſucceed, will rather ſuffer then reſiſt: ſo would a truly informed Conſcience reſolve, were the Prince indeed what he is ſuppoſed to be, and did he do indeed as the people are made to fear and believe he will do.

Hitherto we have been in the examination of the Principle upon which they go that plead for reſiſtance, and we have found both Scripture and Reaſon

ſon ſpeak plainly againſt the reſiſting even of abuſed Powers, profeſſed enemies to Religion, actuall ſubverters of the peoples liberties, how much more againſt the reſiſting of a Prince that profeſſeth the ſame religion which we freely enjoy, promiſeth the maintaining of that and our liberties, onely upon a ſuppoſall he will not ſtand to his word, will overthrow all.

This however it may ſeem leſſe reaſonable to the Statiſt in the way of policie, permitting as little as he can to the goodneſſe of the Prince or the providence of God for the ſafety of the State; yet ought it to ſatisfie a Chriſtian in the way of Conſcience, which when it comes to a deſire of being ſafe, will not reſt till it have a ſure ground, which here it hath againſt reſiſtance laid down by Scripture and Reaſon; even the Apoſtles reaſons ſo powerfull againſt reſiſtance.

The ſumme of all is this; Conſcience hears the Apoſtle expreſſely forbid all under the higher Power to reſiſt, finds no other clear Scripture to limit it, finds that the limitations given will not conſiſt with it, for the reaſons of them (that are drawn from the Election of the people, and the Covenant ſuppoſed therein, from the neceſſity of means of ſafety in every State to provide for it ſelf) were as ſtrong in the Romane State as any; nay, are ſuppoſed by thoſe that urge them, to be the Fundamentals of every State; and ſo reſiſtance is forbidden as well here, as there in the Romane State, which is alſo cleared by the Apoſtles reaſons, ſhewing the Power of reſiſtance cannot be the means of ſafety, but ſtrikes at Order and Power it ſelf, though made

againſt

against tyrannicall and abused Powers, as before often insinuated. Therefore Conscience will not dare to go against the Apostles expresse prohibition, lest it fall into the judgement denounced by him.

But if there shall be any Conscience as strongly carried away with the name of a Parliament, as the Papists are with the name of the Church, and thinking Religion may be defended any way, & that upon suppose all that their Prince is minded to change it, (which is another humour of Popery) will not be perswaded that the resistance made upon the present suppose all is unlawfull, against Gods word, and reason; I am sure such a Conscience cannot be truly perswaded it is lawfull, but must want that clear ground it ought to have, especially in a matter so expresly against the Apostle, and of such high concernment as damnation; must needs runne blindly, and headlong by a strange implicit faith upon so great a hazard.

SECT. VI.

NOw we come to the application of their principle to the present, where we must enquire according to the second and third Generalls, whether the resistance now made be such as is pretended to by them in such a case as they supposed, and then whether Conscience can be truly perswaded the King is such and so minded as in the case he is supposed to be.

The chief considerations of these two Generalls, are matters of fact; The principle was examined by Scripture and Reason, these admit the judgement of sense, and are cleared by what we heare and see;

which judgement of sense is not so easily captivated by an implicit faith as that of Reason is; insomuch as Conscience here cannot be so blinded but it may see, that (were the principle good on which they rest, yet) this resistance which they make, is not such as they pretend to, and that this King, whom they resist, is not such as in the case they supposed him to be, not such as ought to be resisted according to their own grants.

The second Generall was, That the Resistance now made is not such as is pretended to by them that plead for it, and therefore Conscience cannot be truly perswaded it may lawfully bear part in it, or assist them that in the pursuit of it pretend one thing and do another.

It was premised at the beginning that such a resistance should be *omnibus ordinibus regni consentientibus*, agreed upon and undertaken by the generall and unanimous consent of the whole State, and that it should be onely *Legitima defensio*, a mere defensive resistance; and these laid down, not that I admit resistance however conditioned (for all that I have said before doth altogether condemn it) but according to their own grants that plead for it: To this purpose it is that they say the King is *Universis minor*, lesse then the whole State, and every body naturally defends it self. Therefore if a contention be between the Head and the Body, it must in all reason be the whole Body that is set against it; and if there be such an appearing against the supreme Power, as tends to resistance, the consent and judgement of the whole kingdome must be against him, or else every prevailing faction might indanger the State

State by causing such changes and evils as now it's threatned with: This is the reason of this unreasonable power of resistance in the people.

Well then how shall Conscience be perswaded that this resistance was agreed upon by an unanimous and free consent of the States assembled in the two Houses, such as in this case may be called the judgement of the whole kingdome?

He that knows how the *Militia* (in which this resistance chiefly began) was brought in, with what opposition, especially in the Lords house, and by what number there at length was voted; also how the like proceedings of resistance, that have been voted since, are declared against, by a greater number of each House then do remain in either, such as have been cast out or withdrawn themselves upon dislike of these proceedings: can he, I say, that knows this (and who knows it not, that hath eyes and eares?) be in Conscience perswaded, that this is such an unanimous, free, and generall consent, the judgement of the whole kingdome?

For though a Vote passed by a few upon the place ha's the power and condition of a Vote for the formality of Law, yet, if the question be, Was this passed in full assemblies? Was it freely and generally carried? Did they all unanimously *as one man* consent unto it? Conscience cannot be convinced there is such efficacy in the place, as to make a few, the whole; or their agreement to be that judgement of the whole kingdome, that unanimous consent, which must be in the case of resistance, by their acknowledgement that plead for it. For were it in this case to be held for the judgement of the whole,

which is passed by a few, then would the State be unreasonably exposed to that danger (above mentioned) which every prevailing faction might bring upon it under the pretence of the judgement of the whole kingdome.

Again, as Conscience cannot be truly perswaded that this resistance is agreed upon with such a generall and unanimous consent, as they themselves pretend to, which plead for this resistance, so can it not be truly perswaded that this resistance is such for the mere defensive way of it, as it ought to be according to their grants and pretences that appear for it.

Conscience here will see how to resolve, upon the triall of these two particulars, Whether the King or they be upon the defensive part? then, Whether the managing of this warre or resistance on their parts, be so void of hostile acts, as the defensive way, which they pretend to, ought to be?

Conscience will discern whether part is upon the defensive, by inquiring, First, Who were first in Arms? He that can number the succession of weeks and moneths in his Almanack may decide this. He shall find that armed men were thrust into Hull, the Kings Arms seized against his will, the Militia set up, and by that the Kings subjects drawn into Arms before the King had any thing to oppose but Proclamations: that subscriptions for Plate, Money, Horse; that listing of souldiers for the field, and appointing of Officers of the Army were begun upon their part, before his Majesty did the like. Now resistance doth in the word it self and in their pretence presuppose a power and force first made against them,

them, whereas it is plain, they were ſtill upon the preventing and forehand with the King, ſtill ſhewed him example for what he ha's done ſince in the way of Warre: yet muſt the people believe he raiſes the Warre, and they are upon defence; But Conſcience will not be ſo forced.

Secondly, by inquiring what is the cauſe of theſe Arms? What do they contend for? And though it be clear, that if Subjects be firſt in Arms they cannot be upon the defenſive, yet the conſideration of the cauſe will more apparantly convince it, when Conſcience ſhall ſee it is not for what is pretended, but for ſomething the King ha's right to deny, that this reſiſtance is made. The preſervation of Religion and Liberties is pretended, but can it be for either? The King denies them not: Their Religion they freely enjoy; and was it ever known that Subjects ſhould riſe in Armes againſt their Prince for a Religion which he promiſes to maintain? Or does Religion ſtand in need of a defence, which it ſelf condemnes, a defence which would be a perpetuall ſcandall to it? If therefore Religion be the pretence but no cauſe of Warre, then is the Warre raiſed on their part, the King is upon the defenſive. Or can it be for ancient Rights and undoubted Priviledges that they contend? The King denyes them not, promiſeth all ſecurity ſo he may enjoy his own, and God forbid that either He or they ſhould ſuffer in their juſt Rights. But would any man ever have defended the revolt of the ten Tribes, if Rehoboam had promiſed to conſerve their Liberties? What ſhall we then think of this geneall Revolt from Allegiance that ha's poſſeſſed well-near ten Tribes of twelve?

They suppose he will not make good his promises, and therefore they will make all sure, seize his Arms and Forts, strip him of all, and if begin to stirre for his own Right and Dignity, then the people must be made to believe he makes warre against his Parliament, intends to destroy their Liberties. But can any man in Conscience think his Majesty since the beginning of this breach was ever in such a Condition of strength as might threaten the Libertie of the Subject, or destroy Parliaments, when as it was long ere he could with much ado attain to any reasonable means of subsistence, or to such a strength whereby he might seem to be able to defend himself?

To speak the truth, Religion and Liberties can be no other then the pretences of this Warre, the King ha's fortified them so with many Acts of Grace passed this Parliament, that they cannot be in that danger which is pretended for the raising of this Warre. It must be something that his Majestie does indeed deny for which the contention is raised: That we shall find to be His Power of Arms, and ordering the *Militia* of the kingdome, His Power of denying in Parliament, His disposing of the offices of State, and such like; Also the Government of the Church and the Revenue of it. In the three former he challenges his right, as his Predecessours had; the other he is bound by Oath to maintain as by Law they are established. Well, if these be attempted, and his Majesty will not be forced from them, cannot yield them up, but it comes to Arms, then will Conscience easily be convinced the King is upon the defensive, for the maintaining of what he justly holds

holds his right, or is bound by Oath to defend.

And if we hearken to the peoples voice, for that commonly speaks the mind of their leaders, we shall hear them usually call this Warre, as they did that with the Scots, The Bishops Warre. His Majesty has indeed alwayes declared against the altering of the Government of the Church by Bishops, being such as it alwayes had since the first receiving of the Christian Faith in this land, and of all other Governments simply the best, if reformed from abuses and corruptions that have grown upon it, to the purging out of which his Majesty is alwayes ready to agree. But be it the Bishops Warre (though the abolishing of that Government be but one of the many inconveniences which this Power of resistance doth threaten this Land with, and which the King has reason by Power of Arms to divert) whether is it so just in Subjects by Arms to force a change of Government which was alwayes in the Church, and by Law established, as it is in the King to defend the same as he is bound by Oath? it is clear which of the two are upon the defensive.

The second particular by which the defensive way of this resistance is to be examined, was the managing of this Warre on their parts, whether so void of acts of Hostility as that defensive way should be which they pretend to. Davids resistance made against Saul is frequently alledged by them, which example, though it will not countenance their cause (as was shewed before) yet might it tell them their demeanour should be answerable. He offered no act of violence to Saul, but still gave place and withdrew from him: the Spear indeed and the Cruse

David

David took away from the Kings head, but it was onely to shew Abners neglect who had the Command of Sauls Militia, and to testifie his own integrity, therefore he restored them before they were demanded, 1. Sam. 26.

But now the Kings Spear and his Cruse, his Ammunition and his necessary Provisions are taken away, intercepted, not restored though often demanded, used against him with all advantage; nay he is stript of the very power and command of Arms, his Officers and Ministers thrust out, and other substituted, and by them his people drawn into Arms against him.

Also by these that are in resistance against the King, his Loyall and Peaceable Subjects are assaulted, despoiled of their Arms, Goods, Estates; their persons imprisoned, because they would according to their Allegiance assist him in this extremity, or would not, contrary to their Conscience, joyn with them against him. What Conscience that will not follow this way with a stupid implicit faith can be perswaded that this Warre is the defence of the Subjects Liberties, and not rather an oppugnation of them? or that it is a mere resistance or withstanding of a force first made against them, and not rather a violent illation or bringing in of force upon those that were disposed to peace. Therefore no Conscience that ha's a sense of Religion, or of that which is just and right between man and man, can bear a part in this resistance, for fear of that sentence of damnation which the Apostle ha's laid upon it.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

BUt in the last place, if Conscience could be perswaded, that it is lawfull upon such a case, as they make, to take Arms and resist, and that this rising in Arms is such a defensive resistance, as in such a case they seem to pretend to, yet how will it be perswaded that the Case is now, that is, That the King is such as the people must be made to believe he is, unles it will as desperately offend against the rule of Charitie, in so concluding upon the King, as it does against the rule of Faith and Perswasion, in admitting so ungrounded a principle as is now rested on for resistance: so that such a Conscience shall have in its perswasion neither certainty of Rule; for the principle it goes on is false; nor certainty of the Case, for it knows not the heart of the King, to conclude for resistance upon supposals of his intentions, and in its judgement it will be altogether void of Charitie.

Indeed it concerns all such as will resist upon the principles now taught to render their Prince odious to his people under the hatefull notions of Tyrant, Subverter of Religion, and Laws, a Person not to be trusted, or at least as one seduced to such evil designes, by wicked Counsel. But what? Hath this King forbid the exercise of the Religion established, or left off to professe it himself? hath he disclaimed his trust, or not upon all occasions promised justice and libertie to his Subjects?

Yea! but they have cause to fear Popery will prevail, and that he will not stand to his promises. It seems they are men that would be loath to suffer for their Religion, they are so ready to fly to Arms

to secure themselves; But shall subjects rise in Arms against their Prince upon such remote fears and jealousies as these will appear to be? When can such be wanting in turbulent minds? When shall the Prince be assured of safety? This was the way that David himself was shaken out of his throne, and driven from Jerusalem by Absolom: This cunning Rebell steals away their hearts by raysing jealousies in them, and an evil opinion of Davids government, 2. Sam. 15. 3. Some ground, it seems, he had for his treacherous plea, through the negligence of those that were under David; but it was his villanie to make use of it to the alienating of the People from their King. Accordingly let us now consider what slender grounds our people have for their fears and jealousies, then what securitie they have and might have against them, that it may appear how causeless those jealousies are in themselves, how unjust causes of this resistance.

If we examine the fears and jealousies that have possessed the people we shall find them to be raised upon these or the like grounds; Reports of forrain Power to be brought in, The Queens Religion, The resort of Papists to his Majestie, His intercepting of means sent for the relief of Ireland, from whence the people by their good teachers are made to believe, that he means to enslave this people, re-establish Popery, and does comply with the Rebels.

In answer to all which I needed not to say more then what Michael the Archangel to the devil that arch-accuser, *The Lord rebuke thee*, Jude 9. but in particular; For such reports of invasion from abroad,

abroad, as were, before the ſetting up of the *Militia*, given out to keep the people amuſed, the eaſier to draw them into a Poſture of Defence as was pretended, all ſuch are diſcovered by time to have been vain; if there be now any forrain ayds towards the King (as all Chriſtian Kings cannot but think themſelves concerned in the cauſe) it will be as juſt for him to uſe them againſt ſubjects now in Arms, as it was unjuſt in the Barons to call in the French againſt their naturall King. *K. John.*

For the Queens Majeſtie; Her Religion is no new cauſe, if it be a ſufficient cauſe, of Jealouſie to them, they have had it from her firſt entrance; I would to God it were otherwiſe with her, that it would pleaſe the Lord to open her eyes that ſhe may ſee the truth and light of the Proteſtant Religion: onely this I muſt ſay, this is not the way to draw her to it, if ſhe look at it in the doctrines and practices of theſe times ſhe is not like to fall in love with it.

For the reſort of Papiſts, and the Kings entertaining them; He hath often declared what caution he deſired to uſe therein, till neceſſitie hath driven him to admit of ſome few into his Army, which alſo he anſwered lately. Let me adde this concerning the juſtneſſe of it, If he hath entertained any into this ſervice, he may juſtly make uſe of them. We ſee what manner of men were gathered to David in his diſtreſſe, 1. Sam. 22. 2. and how falſe Ziba bringing proviſion to the King when he fled from Abſolom, was entertained and rewarded, inſomuch that the King (when afterward he knew how Ziba had abuſed him to gain his own ends) would not reverſe the ſentence pronounced in his favour; If

therefore in this diſtreſſe after much forbearance our King hath admitted the help of ſome Recuſants, it cannot be alledged as a cauſe of the reſiſtance now made againſt him, but that reſiſtance was a cauſe of it; and if the Papiſt will ſhew himſelf a good ſubject, it is juſt and reaſonable that the King when he is put to it, may admit of his help, and the more ſhame it is for them that profeſſe the Proteſtant Religion to force him to it; a ſcandall that would not eaſily be wiped off from our Religion, were it to ſtand or fall, by the doctrines of this giddie Age.

Laſtly, His Majeſtie hath written enough for the clearing himſelf from thoſe falſe and odious imputations laid upon him in relation to the Iriſh buſineſſe. I have onely thus much to ſay, concerning any thing intended for the relief of Ireland; It was great pitie they ſhould want it there, but it is more pitifull, the King ſhould be forced to make uſe of it here.

It is not long ſince our neighbour Nation brought an Army into the Northern parts of this kingdome to the great detriment of the inhabitants there, and it was excuſed by invincible neceſſitie, which drove them hither. The neceſſitie his Majeſtie was driven to is ſufficiently known, and might excuſe him, in taking his own where he meets with it, and drawing it from his ſervice abroad to that which more nearly concerned him at home. And when his Arms, Moneys, and Proviſions are ſeiſed on wherever they be found intended for him, and imployed againſt him in a Warre, the Lord knows how unneceſſary, ſhall it not be lawfull for him to take ſome part of them where he finds it for his neceſſary defence?

Indeed

Indeed the diſtreſſe of Ireland by the help of wicked Pamphlets hath been uſed as a great engine to weaken the Kings reputation with his people; but upon whoſe account the heavie reckoning of that neglected Cauſe will be laid, together with the diſturbance of this kingdome, any man in Conſcience may eaſily diſcern, that ſees what ſufficient and reaſonable means might have been had for the ſecurity of Religion and Liberties, and for the redreſſe of all juſt grievances before this time. Which is the next thing conſiderable: What his Majeſtie hath done and profered to exempt theſe ſcruples of fears and jealoſies out of his peoples minds.

For Religion, if it be a new Frame they contend for, I muſt acknowledge he declares againſt all ſuch; but if they deſire the continuance of that true Proteſtant Religion, which hath been profeſſed without interruption from the beginning of the Queens dayes, and eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Land, that he undertakes to maintain, that he hath proteſted in the head of his Army to defend. For matter of Church-government and diſcipline he hath offered any juſt reformation, even with a reſpect to tender conſciences in point of Ceremony, hath often called his two Houſes to the work in drawing up the grievances to ſome head. For priviledges of Parliaments and libertie of Subjects he hath given them the like promiſes with the deepeſt Proteſtations; and by an excellent moderation, amidſt the preſſures and neceſſities of Warre, hath ſhown what reſpect he hath to the propertie and libertie of the Subject. Laſtly, For his choyſe of Officers of State, he hath promiſed to admit any juſt exception, and

thereupon to relinquish the person; and as an assurance of all this, hath so farre condescended as to take away Starre-chamber, High-commission, Bishops votes, &c. and to grant the Continuance of this Parliament, and the constant return of a Trieniall; And now after all these promises and protestations, and so many reall expressions of Grace, can any man in conscience think there was yet place left for Propositions of such necessary concernment, that except they be granted this kingdome must be imbroyled in a Civill warre, and the relief of Ireland neglected? I speak not this to cast any blemish upon the wisdome of the great Councel, or upon their desires and endeavours to gain a greater security to the Publick: but I would to God, the King were once thought worthy to be trusted a little, and that the Consciences of his Subjects were more respected, which cannot so easily be commanded into a resistance, being very tender in the points of damnation, and taught out of Gods Word not to raise so much as an evil thought against the King, much lesse to lift up an armed hand.

Eccles. 10.

Every mans Conscience now is solicited to adhere either to the King in this great cause, or to joyn with Subjects in making resistance: To draw it from Allegiance, tongues are set on fire of hell, which blast his Majesties Actions and Declarations; and books written by hellish spirits, enemies to peace and quietnesse, are suffered to issue forth into every corner of the land to possesse the people, That his promises are but words, his acts of Grace were forced, he will not stand to them: It seems then he must by force of Arms be compelled to be willing. But let us see

whether

whether a Conscience that desires to be safe can be so perswaded in judging the actions and intentions of him (to whom it owes the highest duty under God) as first to conclude he intends not as he promises, and thereupon to resolve for resistance? No, it will direct it self by the rule of Charity, which is, not rashly to conclude upon the heart which it knoweth not, or to think any evil; and if the difference be betwixt two, as in this cause, it will hold the rule of indifferency, impartially to consider the actions of both.

Conscience therefore that it may be informed of his Majesties intentions, will it look upon him at such a distance as London, and reade him onely in those horrid relations that issue thence, and conceive of him as they report him to the people? or will it consider some failings that necessity ha's inforced, or other accidentall occurrences have occasioned, and from these conclude intentions in him, contrary to all his Promises and Protestations? This would be too partiall, too uncharitable: Conscience ought alwayes to be tender in judging upon other mens intentions, especially those of the Prince, and those to be concluded as evil, and to be made a ground for resistance, which runs the hazard of Damnation.

In the 2. Chron. c. 21. 10. Libnah is said to revolt from the King of Judah because he had forsaken the Lord; a Text that is objected to us, and should have been answered in the first part: but it is impertinent as all the rest are, for it neither proves the principle, That it is lawfull for the people to revolt when the King forsakes Religion, but shews

that

that such revolt is a punishment from God upon such a King, though a sinne in the people: Nor doth it come home to the Case; for there the King had forsaken; here is onely supposall that he will, and that groundlesse and unconscionable too.

For as there was enough in David to clear those jealousies upon which that rebellion of the people following Absolom was grounded, so is there on the Kings part, to direct Conscience against this desperate uncharitable judgement, if it look at those many Acts of Grace as new additions to that security, by which this State ha's so long stood, and from them conclude, He would not in a fair way deny any thing reasonable: If it consider those many promises strengthened with the deepest Protestations, enforced with desires of successe from God according to his just intentions; and all these, as proceeding from a King, under such affliction, in such danger, after such successe and experience of Gods protection, approving thereby the reality and sincerity of his heart: What Conscience can here conclude contrary intentions in him, and not think it blasphemeth God and the King?

Furthermore, as Conscience will not be uncharitable when it judgeth upon the intentions of another mans heart, so neither will it be partiall when it judgeth between two, unto which of them it should incline: and therefore he that is abused to believe amisse of his King, and solicited to enter this way of resistance, is highly concerned first to consider, Whether they also that are the main directours of it, and to whom he would adhere, do discharge their

trust

trust they are called to, I say such an one, unless he will resigne up his faith to men, and receive their dictates as the immediate rule of his Conscience, must consider whether all be just and honest that is done in that way? Whether to divest the King of the Power of Arms and to use them against him, be to defend his Person, Rights, and Dignity? Whether the forcing of the Subjects property, to the advancing of this resistance, and the imprisoning of their persons for deniall, be the maintaining of the Right and Liberty of the Subject? Whether the suffering of so many Sects to vent their Doctrines with such liberty, and to commit unsufferable outrages upon the publick worship of God, with such licentiousnesse, be a defending of Religion and the established worship of this Church? All these duties every Subject respectively is bound to discharge, and the neglect of them his Majesty has chiefly charged upon those that he conceives the chief Directours and Actours in this resistance made against him, and every man in Conscience ought seriously to consider it.

The necessity of the Commonwealth is pretended to defend the not-defending of the premises; when as no necessity may excuse any failings on the Kings part, as if his promises, by which he stands obliged to his Subjects, did not suppose they for their parts also should perform: I know not how some particular men may be engaged and contract a necessity of resisting, or seeking safety by Arms; but I am perswaded, no man in Conscience can think it a necessity of the Commonwealth to have all con-

founded, or of a Christian to run the hazard of damnation by resisting. My Conscience tells me, and so will theirs one day tell them, how much they have to answer for not improving that grace and willingnesse, they had experience of in his Majesty and might still have found in him, to the speedy and happy reformation of this Church and State; I pray God to give them Consciences truly inlightned, and bowels truly compassionate, that they may speedily and feelingly be sensible of the miseries this Land grones under, and faithfully examine how far they are answerable for them, by rejecting such reasonable means of security, as they might have had for the safety of this State. Amen.

And now if there be any one that will run the hazard of this resistance, I desire he would first set his Conscience before the Tribunall of God, where it must appear, and consider whether it will excuse him there, when he ha's shed the bloud of others, and expended his own, to say, I verily supposed and believed my Prince would change Religion, overthrow our Liberties. I must tell him it will not be safe for him to present such a Conscience at that barre, a Conscience that wanted the rule of Faith to warrant and perswade the lawfulnesse of resistance upon such a suppossall, a Conscience that wanted the certainty of perswasion that the Princes heart (which God onely knows) was so inclined, a Conscience that wanted the judgement of Charity, in concluding such intentions in the King notwithstanding all his promises and deepest protestations made in the time of his trouble, without which Charity

rity all is nothing though he layes down (as he thinks) his life for Religion. Such a Conſcience I muſt needs conclude ſinfull, and liable to that which the Apoſtle threatens unto Reſiſtance, Damnation.

FINIS.